1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

837 In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes [586] he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ'mdoka) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home.

TRANSVESTITES

838 Transvestites or berdaches (tw!lnnă'ĕk) are found among the Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such [114] individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lele'ka below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them.

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, [756] but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation.

[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:58 *et seq.*), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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756 838 As both sexes are shamans there was no need for the transformation had this been the goal.

Mŭksamse'lapli, also called White Sindey, was the berdache shaman. He tried to laugh like a woman. He was twice married, first to a Molala man named Tel'ptel, later to a Klamath, Te:lo'mŏks. The latter is known to me as a normal old man who has since raised a family of his own. White Sindey made considerable pretense to shamanistic powers, but was rather scouted. He performed and reacted like an ordinary shaman.

159 838 One of my informants now in his sixties had been a berdache in his youth. I had observed his general unmasculine behavior but it was not until my visit of the second year that another informant gave the reason. He lives alone, takes pride in his cooking and the care of his house, weaves baskets for sale as women do, and still wears a basket hat, which no Klamath man now will. He is fleshy, slow, and distinctly feminine in gait and gestures, and speaks with the higher pitch of women's voices. Yet his transvestite state was given up nearly half a century ago. He is shrewd enough, though mild mannered, yet I confess that I suspected no abnormality. When about sixteen years old he was at the Dalles where an old woman shaman of the place took a fancy to him. He however was afraid that she would harm him so he put on woman's dress. He wore his hair long, prepared lily seeds, wove mats and baskets; all typical women's pursuits. He has never married. After learning his history I brought up the subject of marriage with him. He claimed that he had once been married, his wife having died twenty years ago, and in answer to the question why he had not remarried replied: "Some men like it that way."

838 159 622 The most striking case is that of the chief Lŭle'ka. As an adolescent he wore women's dress and performed the appropriate tasks. One day after returning from the lily seed harvest he lay down to sleep. They placed a bow and arrow and a punt pole by his side, the latter a symbol of women's work. They stood over him and shouted. As he jumped to his feet he grasped the bow, thus determining his future. He ran off to Mount Scott (tlu'msŭmzni), staying through the night on the mountain in quest of a supernatural experience. As he was returning he smelled the sweaty odor of running horses. He left off women's dress and actions from that time. He became lucky in every way, acquired wealth, especially in horses, and prestige, and became the foremost chief the Klamath have known. His

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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subsequent career seems quite normal unless exception be made of his seven wives!

A woman named Co'pak lived like a man although she retained women's dress. She married a woman who lived with her a long time and finally died. She observed the usual mourning, wearing a bark belt as a man does at this time to prevent the back from growing bowed. She tried to talk like a man and invariably referred to herself as one.

Another woman still living has had relations with both women and men. She never adopted men's garb but told them that she was a man. She is today a common prostitute, an abnormal, irascible person. Those she lived with were all older women, not young girls. This practice is known as sawa'lĭnăa, to live as partners. They say of such: they have lots of partners, friends (snewă'ĕts doma' sawa' lĭnăa'sgĭtkt). Other Klamath of any standing have always avoided her and her women partners. She was never married to a man.

HOUSE GROUPS

It is now difficult to get evidence on household composition. Houses vary in size, to judge by the existing pits, from twelve feet in diameter to as much as thirty-five feet. The larger houses must have held a number of families and as many as ten or twelve persons. One described below had five families, numbering twenty.

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The majority of the inmates of a house can usually trace some relationship. This is also true of most of the inhabitants of a settlement. For example, the village mo'giŋkūnks had half a dozen earth-lodges, of which three held the families of two brothers and their father's male cousin. Residence is normally patrilocal. In the cases which follow the connecting relatives are for the most part related in the first degree.

[591]

An earth-lodge on the lower Williamson river built about 1870, and measuring thirty feet in diameter, contained five men, their wives and children, whose respective portions of the house are shown in figure 4. This was known as the home of the shaman Boḱe's; the others were related to his wife.

1. Boḱe's, wife, and two children.
2. Leḳ!o'c, wife and two children.
3. Woḳau'ḳ!alĭs, a widower, whose two wives had been Molala sisters.[78]

[78] Their Molala names were Slowa' and A'li'nk.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MV	NP	NM	NS	NV
587 3975. New husband pays widow's parents-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
3976. New husband asks widow's parents-in-law consent	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	-
3977. New husband pays widow's sister-in-law	-	-	-	-		+	+	+	-	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
3978. New husband pays, gives gifts to widow's family	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	-	+
3979. Remarriage of widows rare, if husband good man	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3980. Divorcee's former husband paid by new husband	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[562] 3981. Man sells wife to male bidder	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3982. New husband pays divorcee's parents	-	-	+	+	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
o3983. New husband asks divorcee's parents	-	-	-	-	-	±	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intercourse																
833 3984. Bride scratches at 1st intercourse	-	-	+	-	-	-		(+)	-	-	.	.	+	.	.	.
3985. Natural position lying on side	.		+										+			
3986. Kissing unknown	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
[152] [192] 3987. Exclamation of endearment for adults, children	+	+	-		+	+	+	+	+	+	.	-	+	+	-	-
3988. Virginity tests	.	.	+			+	+	+	-	.	.	+	-	.	.	.
Promiscuity																
836 3989. Promiscuity any time	-	-	+	+	-		+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3990. At dances chiefly	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	.	+	-	-	+	-
3991. Promiscuity denied by informant	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
3992. Unchaste unmarried girl beaten, shaken, scolded	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
836 3993. Unmarried pregnant girl scolded, beaten		+	+			+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
848 3994. Father of bastard punished	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
3995. Killed by girl's relatives														+	+	-
3996. Obligated to marry girl	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3997. Might marry girl, not obligated	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
3998. Payment for girl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transvestites																
Male																
838 3999. Male transvestites affirmed for group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+
4000. Sweat with women	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
4001. Perform women's work	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
4002. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+		+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
4003. Live with normal man	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-	-	-
4004. Special functions at funerals	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
[758] 4005. Some are shamans	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	(+)	-	-	-	-
4006. Nursing in war		-	-			-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
4007. Regarded indifferently by community	+	-	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
4008. Turn berdache at puberty, prepuberty	-		+			(+)		+	+	+	-	.	-	-	-	-
4009. Turn berdache postpuberty, later in life	+	-	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
[587] 4010. Act upon dream	-	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
Female																
4011. Female transvestites affirmed for group	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4012. Live with woman	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4012a. Live with man			-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4012b. Wear women's clothes	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
[758] 4013. Some are shamans	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	MF	KM	MS	MV
4014. Perform man's work only	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.	–
4015. Perform labors both sexes	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4016. Digs grave or helps at funerals	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4017. Regarded disapprovingly		–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4018. Regarded indifferently		–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
Death																
Treatment of corpse																
4019. Left in house until buried or burned	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
†4020. Left in house ... days or nights	–	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
4021. Removed outside immediately after death	°+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
4022. Body prepared for burial, burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4023. Washed, in house	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
4024. Washed, at grave	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
4025. Painted	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
4026. Dentalia, bone tubes in nose, ears	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
4027. Bead necklaces on wealthy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	°+	°+	°+
4028. Wrapped in hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	–	+	°+
4028a. Flexed, to form round bundle	–	–	–	–	–			–	–		+	+	+	–	+	+
4029. Wrapped in mat	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
4030. Put in basket, occasionally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	°+	–	+	–
4031. Removed from house through regular entrance	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
4032. Removed through wall of house	–	–	°+	°+	+	–	–	°+	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4033. Removed through draft hole			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
4034. Removed from house head first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	.	+
4035. Body outstretched, carried by 2 persons	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+		(+)	+
4036. On pole stretcher	–	–	+	+	–	°+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4037. On double robe	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
4038. Body carried suspended from pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	(+)	–
4039. Body carried in arms, on back by 1 person	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Funerary Procedure																
†4040. Body kept outside for ... nights	1	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	–
4041. For few hours only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
4042. Large fire built beside corpse	+	–	+	+						+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4043. Relatives, friends assemble, wail	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4044. Mourning begins before death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	+	–
4045. Wailing by mourners at prefuneral dance	°+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4046. Mourners bring gifts to dead	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	°+	°+
4047. Night dance by mourners	–	–	+	+	+	°–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
4048. Prior to burial, cremation	–	–	°+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	°+	°+	°+	°+
4049. Mourners wear or carry boughs	–	–	°+	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4050. 1 group of dancers follows another	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4051. Officiating woman piles boughs by corpse	–	–	+	°+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4052. Ashes, water sprinkled after corpse	°+	–	+		°+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
4053. Children not allowed at burial, burning	+	°+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
4054. All avoid smoke from pyre											+	–	+	+	+	–
4055. Widow attends husband's burial, burning		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°4056. Speech at burial, burning	+	+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	–	–	°+
4057. Widow(s) try to jump on pyre, in grave	.	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	–	–
4058. Restrained	.	+	.		+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	°+	°+	–	–
4059. Mourners jump about as they wail			–			+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
4060. Throw dirt over themselves	.	+	–					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
4061. Roll in dirt	.	+	+					+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+

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	XI	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Rattlesnake Shamans																
5123. Rattlesnake shamans recognized	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+		-	+
5124. Men only	+	(-)		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	+
5125. Mostly men, some women	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5126. Mostly women	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5127. Berdache					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5128. May also be curing shaman	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	+
5129. Hereditary	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-
5130. Instruction given	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-
5131. Supernatural experience required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	+
5132. Power from thunder					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5133. Power from rattlesnake				+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-
5134. Dreams of buzzard				-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	+
5135. Immune to snake bites				+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	+
5136. Plays with snakes publicly	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5137. Uses bone whistle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5138. Carries snake around neck	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5139. Can skin snake alive								+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5140. Cures snake bites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	+
5141. By sucking	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-
5142. Sucks out fangs, snakes	+	(+)	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-		-	-
5143. Rubs patient with buzzard wing	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5144. Rattlesnake ceremony	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5145. Songs sung to snakes	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5146. In winter, by woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5147. Early in spring	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5148. Privately	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	(+)	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5149. Snakes emerge from holes	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5150. Talked to, told not to molest villagers	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5151. Rattlesnake shamans from other tribes, not local	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
Bear Shaman																
5151a. Bear shamans	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-
5152. Men only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-
5153. Mostly men	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5154. Both sexes	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5155. Is regular curing shaman	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		+	-
5156. Hereditary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		+	-
5157. Instruction given	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
5158. Supernatural experience required	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		-	-
5159. Power obtained from bear	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-
5160. Cure wounds made by grizzly bear	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-
5161. Simulates bear's guise	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-
5162. Rubs self with snake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5163. Transformation into bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5164. Wears bearskin, bear hair	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-
5165. Wears bear claws	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-
5166. Impersonator invulnerable	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-		+	-
5167. Can travel rapidly	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
5168. Maliciously inclined	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-		+	-
Money Finders																
5168a. Money finders recognized	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5169. Any doctor capable of	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5170. Only doctor with certain guardian spirits	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-

836 well after she married; advised her to take such for husband. Youths never went round for women [178] by themselves, formerly; both girls and youths adhered to marriage rules. SE: Admitted, but said ooo to have been very rare, however. 2 women usually accompanied girl whenever she went anywhere "in order to see that men didn't bother her." At: Mother kept girl beside her during night at fiestas (see also note 3960).

[836] [849] 3996. Kl: Must marry girl; youth's parents tell him, "Get that baby back." Youth gets girl, without paying anything for her.

3997. WS: "Very few did marry the girl."

Transvestites

[838] 3999. Mo, MM, MV: Known by informants to exist among such tribes as "Pit River" (Achomawi) and Kl, but denied positively for informants' own groups. SW: Informant himself had many traits of transvestite, although he dressed in men's clothes; most of elements listed positively below for SW are entered from volunteered data and observation of facts rather than as result of direct questioning. At: Referred to as ya'wa'. MM: "In early days didn't have any [transvestites]"; informant knew of only 2 hermaphrodites (?), a Mexican at Auburn and a half-breed woman.

4008. "Because born that way."

4009. AW: Informant for At stated, "1 Pit River (Achomawi) woman, after she'd had children, dreamt to be like that."

[838] 4011. See note 3999. At: Referred to as brumaiwi. Wear false penis (?), made of pitch, suspended from belt.

Death

Treatment of corpse.--

[764] 4021. Kl: Body laid on pyre immediately, left lying there overnight; early next morning burned.

4025. Mo: Shamans only. WM: Painted red. Sun dogs considered sign of shaman's death, "because paint dead red." Red clouds presage death of someone.

4027. MF, MF, MM, MS, MV: Yellowhammer-quill band also laid with body. MF, MS: Also basket cut, so it will lie flat like plaque on top of chest; this buried with body. Cut basket on body lacking among MM, MV; dubious for MF.

4028. WT: Elkhide article of great value; chief wrapped in such, and grave "almost filled with shell currency and other valuables. Many visitors come from distance and bring world of things to put in chief's grave." WM: "Other groups [of Wintu] wrap body in bearskin cloak"; WM do not, except in rare instances where head, claws cut off old bearskin, and latter put in grave. New skin never treated thus. MV: Wrap wealthy in bearskin.

4030. MF: Also children up to 2-3 years old buried on their cradle.

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K M 609 In such a sphere, and in relations with strangers beyond, the myths picture encounters fraught with possible danger. They may be initiated by a trucial period which endures until, by proper guest-host behavior, by a claim of kinship or on the other hand by an act of aggression, the issue of "friend or foe" is precipitated. Hospitality dictates that one receive and feed the K M [574] stranger, though a visiting kinsman brings a gift of food or otherwise repays the kindness. If, however, hostility is decided upon, it rarely becomes open: instead, both sides proceed indirectly, under the guise of amicability, and employ followers or auxiliaries to encompass the destruction of the other. It is here that the prescient qualities of the hero, his access to assistants and to supernatural forces, are decisive.[19]

K 648 In ethnographic reality, the outer limits of society are marked by the boundaries of common speech. Beyond this, the Klamath maintain amity with the Molala, intermittent friendship and hostility toward the Warm Springs and other Columbia River Sahaptin, who sometimes raid them, and toward the Paiute; inveterate hostility toward the Takelma of the upper Rogue and other peoples west of the Cascades; and a predatory aggressiveness toward the Pit River and Shasta to the south, whom they increasingly raid for slaves and loot.

K M 571 156 [838] The horizons of such a society are not wide. With the exception of the shaman, a part-time specialist, each man and each woman has much the same skills and knowledge as his fellows. The aberrant individual can do no more than assume the dress and behavior of the other sex, ascribing his action to supernatural dictate. The transient forms of the community and the informal constraint it imposes, the paucity of activities that demand concerted action, go hand in hand with a permissiveness in the individual. When this takes aggressive form, it may threaten the very fabric of society.

K M 754 571 152 682 The covert expression of hostility is likely to invest relations beyond the natal family with fear and mistrust. Revenge can take the form of murder from ambush, sorcery to engender the illness or death of the enemy, or the stealthy destruction of his property.[20] One frequent cause of open slayings, and of the feuds that ensue, is suspicion that a shaman has brought about the death of one's kinsman. Commonly, such charges are leveled

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1850. Aggressions by Northern Paiute bands led to similar large-scale forays into the country east of Silver and Summer lakes. The almost endemic condition of warfare and the enlarging scale of operations, together with the lucrative trade in booty, brought about the emergence of a chiefly class, the members of which based their power upon eminence in war and possession of wealth, including slaves.[10] Their successes attracted followers, and common interest as well as kinship prompted them at times to cement alliances with shamans.

Thus they drew into their hands coercive powers of no mean weight, for, as Henry Blow observed, "this [shamanistic] power was used by the chiefs to get rid of rivals and there are some of us old enough to remember of doctors being paid to kill certain persons and of their foretellings of the exact day they would die."[11]

The rise of the chiefs helped to knit together tribal loyalties. A war party formerly consisted of only those among the able-bodied men who were inclined to fighting, but a successful leader increasingly transcended tribelet parochialism, drawing followers from diverse hamlets and villages across the Klamath country. As warfare became a way of life, the occasional allegiance rendered while in the field became an enduring acknowledgment of worth.

In the growing eminence of the new leadership, hereditary principles may have been operative. Chiloquin mentions his father as having been a chief on Klamath Marsh, his own brother as a subchief, and a sister as a chief. The father of Dave Hill, a rising young war leader, was a village chief; while Allen David, later head chief in reservation days, was the brother of Captain George, a Klamath Lake chief. That family eminence was not essential, however, is shown by the personal history of Lileks, of good—but not chiefly—background. Lileks was a transvestite in his youth until a supernatural experience vested him with the power that was to lead him to be head chief of the Klamath.[12]

A minor factor in these developments may have been the interest of the whites in the centralization of tribal power, in order that they might deal more effectively with responsible leaders. In 1844, Elijah White, then Sub-agent for Indian affairs met with some Klamath and Molala who had ridden into the

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She worked all night once, and I thought there must be something to it. But her power got small. You know what the Christians say, "Backslide," not working strong enough. She said, "My help is getting small."[13]

Alec Wilson was a shaman, one of perhaps three in the lower Williamson River area. After the Agency had outlawed shamanistic curing, he gave up his practice. Later, his child fell ill. His wife railed at him, "You call yourself an Indian doctor! Why don't you do something? Can't you see your own child is dying?" Helplessly, he explained, "My tricks [i.e. powers] are all gone, have left me; I can't do nothing without my tricks."

Though prohibited, shamanistic activities continued into recent times. In 1897, Emery dealt severely with two instances of curing at Paiute Camp, awarding a month at hard labor each to Doctor Sam and Tom Godowa for attempting a shamanistic cure of the latter's daughter and a week in jail to Tom Chocktoot, headman of the Paiute, for a similar effort on behalf of Pete Pauline's daughter. Chocktoot had also to return the sack of flour and blanket he had received as his fee.[13] A number of adults who were products of the boarding school recall the transvestite shaman, White Cindy. One man was cured by him in the early 1890's;[14] and a woman who fell ill through dreaming of him underwent the required shamanistic cure, although she was a Methodist. Henry Jackson is said to have retained shamans to perform cures at his house, and he is widely suspected to have hired the assassin of the Modoc shaman, Doctor George, in 1899, on the suspicion that he had encompassed the death of his sons.[15]

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While the campaign against the shamans was proceeding, other events had taken place. In 1871, a Paiute had introduced upon the Upper End (Yainax) the nativistic Ghost Dance religion; and Doctor George, at that time not yet a shaman, had brought it to the Tule Lake Modoc. There it was taken up by the Modoc shaman, Curley-haired Doctor, and played an ideological role during the Modoc War. A Klamath commoner named O'Toole brought the religion to the Lower End, at the Lakes, where a dance was organized by Allen David (then head chief), Lobert, a headman and shaman, O'Toole, and Frank Chilks, another commoner. No Agency employees among the Indians participated.